212 For hundreds of years they have
/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
•181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities,
with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated
mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number
of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment.
The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

[113] 2. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

[113] 3. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W. H. R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is unconsciously present in people's thinking could be described as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince. This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for the present are those of South Celebes.

182 565 154 We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure and at the same time by a great insecurity about the individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity are therefore always present, even in times of peace and order.

154 181 182 668 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals content themselves with this so long as they have the opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary" ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual, perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

158 /165 cont./ to fetch a sanro (Makassarese physician). After
826 some time had elapsed, and the sanro had performed a number
755 of rituals, the feelings of anxiety disappeared. For this day, the attack was past.

Women are kept away from a male koro patient. It is believed that their presence would cause the dreaded event, the receding /166/ of the penis, to take place, and it is believed
[761] that in that event the patient would die. People mention without much trouble a number of instances of individuals who supposedly died of koro.

Slot reports that koro occurs among adult Makassarese and
158 Buginese of each social class and both sexes. The phenomenon
755 may appear in groups. It is not the consequence of a modified libido. The Makassarese combat it by using influences regarded as positive, for instance, by using the flowering cluster of the male lontar palm as medicine and through the avoidance of negative influences, among which the turtle is mentioned (1).

1. The thought of the disappearance of this animal's head under its shell gives the patient an unpleasant association according to one informant.

158 Finally, Slot explains that the cause of koro may be a sense of guilt, but that this cause is ethnologically determined because the admissable and the inadmissable are here differently interwoven than in western Europe. He speaks of feelings of guilt while van Wulfften Palthe believes that it is anxiety feelings that lie at the base of the koro phenomenon.

Now that the koro phenomenon has been described from
158 the psychological point of view as an expression of anxiety,
181 one may attempt to indicate from the ethnological point of view how this anxiety can have its genesis. To this end I

158 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There
626 are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live
558 alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

S
838 Van der Veen said that there are only a few real hermaphro-
824 dites here, but that there are many homosexuals. And here
792 is something! Boys who show feminine tendencies are fed maize because it is linked with the earth (female principle), and not rice, because the latter is heavenly and connected with the male principle.

000 Ambon: I met an insurance man at the Rotary Club meeting in Makassar, at which I spoke. His name is Kaihatu. He is from Oma, on Saparua, I think [Haruku]. Anyway, he said that they have quite a bit of pela [ally, in the sense of institutionalized friendship] practices there. One cannot marry a person of a fellow pela village. Thus Oma and a village on another island [Saparua] are in a pela relationship to each other. This involves a great amount of mutual aid. Although one can not marry a person from the other village it is evidently possible to marry in one's own village. Kaihatu said that even in a far away place such as Java, if a man of Oma meets one from a pela village he will help him in all ways possible. And he will never think of marrying. This custom is still strong, and even the moderns have no idea of breaking it. He also said that there was much black magic and that such beliefs are firm. I will see him later.

M
609 South Celebes: On my way back from Malino I was stopped
126 by two lads at Lebon pasar. They were on their way from
291 Makassar to the village where the Goa radja lived. They were selling clothing and asked me for a lift saying that there were two men. But soon two more appeared, and finally there were seven. All got in the jeep with their luggage. They were jolly and friendly. They pointed out a special black cape worn by nobles (but not only by nobles; perhaps only by women?) on the road. This type of cape is really beautiful, even out in the country. At one point they asked to stop and bought two large bunches of bananas. I asked them why. They said that the bananas were for me! And these the "surly Makassarese"! I took a fast photo of them [with a Polaroid Land camera] and they were overjoyed. I gave one to them, and they are going to make copies for all. They posed with considerable pride. The kraton [court] of the radja was white walled, but inside it looked like the ordinary native houses.

M
[115] South Celebes: the following information was obtained
181 from van Heekeren of the archaeological service and Abdul
609 Rahim, Guru, an assistant of Cense and Chabot. They said
177 that the Makassarese and Buginese are very conservative. They claim that they will not change much. Thus, if they are asked why they do not use the potter's wheel, for example,

they will say that their fathers did it this way. Van Heekeren knows of a family still living in a cave (where?). When he asked them why they were not living in the nearby village, they said that their fathers from away back had lived in caves, and there had been no change. He said further that in Mandar there must still be a few of the Toala type. They live far back, and bring in tribute to the radja. He will look for them he said. But he thinks that the Toala are merely mountain Buginese. He added that Toala radja are very glad to see whites because their relations with whites have always been good. Men like Adriani and Kruyt started this good tradition and hence they like whites. Also, the Makassarese and Buginese never had too many whites around and so there are good feelings in this respect. He said that Bone is a good example of this. There [in Bone--Analyst] the 1906 war was regarded as a sporting proposition. Afterwards the radja was restored. The flag shows clasped hands, Dutch and Bone. Speelman said that as long as the chain he gave to the radja of Bone remained unbroken the two peoples would remain friends. He gave an enormous chain. Also inscribed on the flag is a statement to the effect that they will remain friends as long as the sun continues to shine. When there were troubles after the war, the Bone radja declared his position strongly and raised the Dutch flag.

M 181 609 177 ●

C 175 648

Even the younger generation admires and believes in the mana of the radjas. Thus if President Soekawati [President of the State of East Indonesia] appears there is little reaction, but if the radja appears there is great feeling.

C 778 565

Van Heekeren is going on an expedition to Galumpang in the southern part of West Toradja territory. He is excavating a neolithic site there. It takes about six days of walking beyond the end of the road to reach the site.

C 114

Abdul Rahim is to get me a man, probably a relative, to start the work in the kampong of Balombaru. This kampong is six kilometers south from the center of Makassar, and is Rahim's own village. It is two kilometers beyond the city limit, in Guru. It is said to be a good place for my work in as much as it has most of the typical characteristics, including the influence of nobility. I will start tomorrow.

M 124

Flores: I met [in Makassar] the Radja of Sikka. He looks like an American Negro. His name is D. Silva, and he is evidently a Catholic. His secretary is a Dutchman. This seems to be the pattern now in East Indonesia, with the Dutchmen acting very obsequious.

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
● 181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There
[292] I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

I had many talks at random, especially with Thierens. He 181 ●
is willing to work, but says it is only toward a dim future. The police official (Aru Pontjeng) and his son (Aru Matjege, head of the local government) especially, see that things are not good. Everything is inefficient and childish. I met the former one day, and at once he asked my impression. I dodged his question and he said at least everyone eats here. I said yes, but many were slaves. He was shocked, but saw my point, I will talk with him again. I told Thierens that questions, especially of the kampong folk and even of Andi and the Sulewatang, showed that the people were ripe for economic education. They are puzzled. And they take to such talk. Thierens said that they get scared, and agreed that they go on governmental business trips in order to get away from problems. The truth 423
is, it is too poor a land. Then too, it is feudal. Thierens told 566
me a secret. I had seen private fish ponds belonging to the Arumpone in Palette, near the sea. He told me that near that place entire kampongs are working in the service of the arumpone. It is quite medieval. But perhaps the only way to operate this place is to keep serfs and slaves. At least they eat. But what hope is there for a rise of standards? For example, 653
I asked how they built roads and schools. Andi said heeren- 434
dienst [literally 'master's service']. I then said that if that were true, how would they pay for the increasing number of teachers. For that they would need money too. I said that they had rice, maize, and men--and that is all. The answer I do not know. As Thierens said, for the past forty years they have 185
grown more and more used to Western administration. Now, 434
they must keep things up to Western standards of speed and efficiency. They have neither, but they do have even grander ideas than the Dutch gave them concerning the future. They try to reach outward to a level of speed approximating that which the Dutch represented, and so forth. Instead they become dizzy. They are desperate. And even with the help of the Dutch (and Pontjeng said right away that they co-operate with the Dutch), how can they pay the Dutch and give them enough security inducement unless they have the money. In all, it is a non-paying daerah, and my guess is that the whole of East Indonesia is a non-paying negara. The only way out seems to be to get Java and Sumatra, and perhaps, in part, Borneo, to pay the bills; or to slip into a peasant economy and drop all ideas of grandeur and of a great and prosperous future with schools, etc.

Tomorrow, August 30, 1949, I am leaving for Makassar. 000

000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave
567 group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went
743 to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaja. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people.
● 181 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum--
621 Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there
743 is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java. She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampong. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But some of them have seen maps in the schools. 203 186 829

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for relations with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons. 186 181 578 721

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here know very little even about local historical events. This reminds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver 157 114

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

although he told me that they were "his people". He said that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And even later, when they are no longer able to perform as padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry. The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot, and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth. The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about before the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

535 565 567 [435 582] 574 431 181 ● 576 567 [292]

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
● 181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
798 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 588] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead-pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the simple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Mohammedan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or someone else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

562 584 883 181 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble, criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch manners the latter appear as very strange. He also remarked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 581 834 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such

836 848 562 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 591 182 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 567 178 As for social classes, they say there has been little change, except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
● 181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me pa'ika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India.

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They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

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Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

795 829

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

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As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

517 546

517 546 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous potential value for visual education here. Indeed, the only outside amusement is the movies.

526 367 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong, but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not have a field within the kampong. They also play the real rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They 525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam- 541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal. They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 53 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal, except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizontal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carving of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is practically no music and the people do not go in much for any instruments..They did say that they play flutes, which is true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 538 368 461 549 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables. Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk. They almost never read, but said that if they could get books they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales. Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire 517 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the ● 181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is general and there is not much to say. The death punishment is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f. 25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

Makassar 066
Celebes 061

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark. M 831 838 181● 154

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary. M 797 562 M [576] M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of C 563

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place